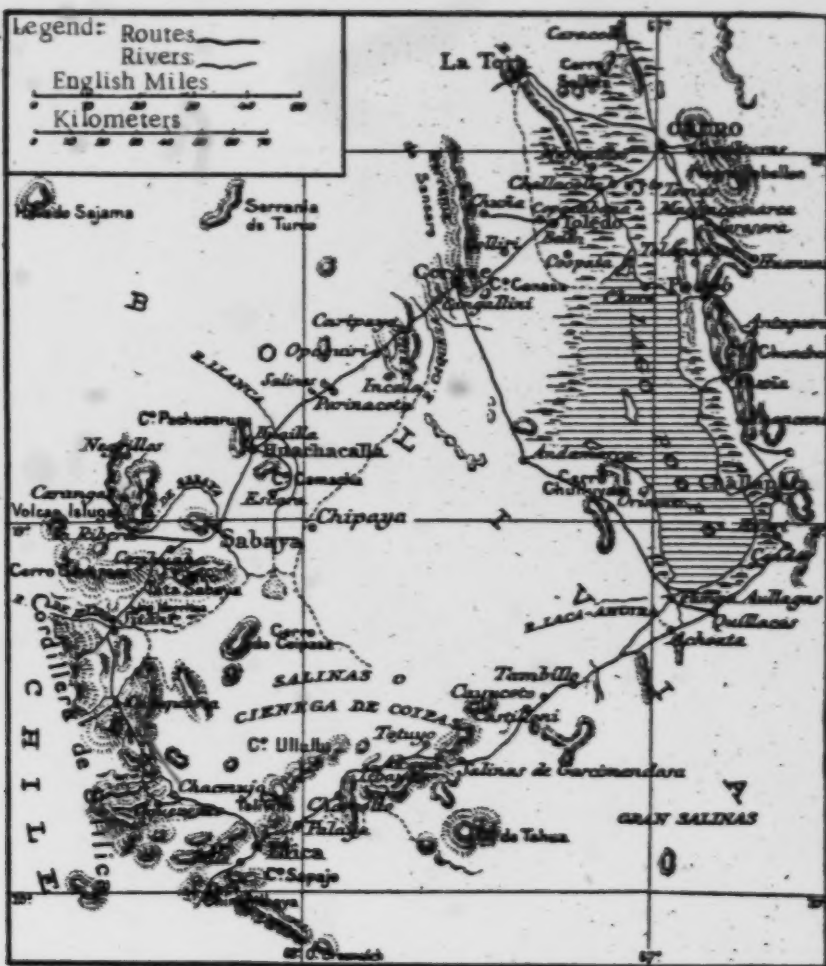


Carangas-
Chipaya

/112 cont./



Carangas-
Chipaya

/114/

The Tribe and Its Environment

[31]
[01] Location of the Chipaya. The Chipaya Indians still make up today a small, semi-independent tribe situated in the southern part of Carangas Province in Oruro Department (Bolivia) (Map 1). The area of their territory is approximately 100 square kilometers (1).

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1. In order to determine the exact location of the Chipaya and to guide myself during my trips in Carangas Province, I used the following maps: Mapa topográfico de la Altiplanicie central de Bolivia, trabajado en los años 1867 para el proyecto de canalización y ferrocarril a la costa del Océano Pacífico /Topographic map of the central Altiplano of Bolivia, made in the years /sic/ 1867 for the project to build a canal and railroad to the coast of the Pacific Ocean/, by Hugo Reck; Part of the bolivian Table land from a Trigonometrical Survey executed for the National Government in 1892 by J.B. Minchin; Régions des hauts-plateaux de l'Amérique du Sud (Bolivie, Argentine, Chili, Pérou) parcourues par la mission française /Regions of the altiplano of South America (Bolivia, Argentina, Chile, Peru) traversed by the French mission/ (G. de Créqui Montfort and B. Sénéchal de la Grange, 1903). Map drawn by

Carangas-
Chipaya

/114 cont. /

114 passably filled with water. Insofar as we may trust Minchin's map,
 361 undoubtedly the most exact on Oruro Department, Chipaya is
 131 located practically at the intersection of 68° longitude west and
 19° latitude south.

101 It is not superfluous to give the distances which separate
 361 Chipaya from the nearest Aymara villages. These figures will
 179 help to explain the strength with which Aymara influence makes
 itself felt on these Indians. The nearest Aymara hamlet is Iscara,
 which can be reached in a half-day's walk. Sabaya to the south-
 east is hardly farther away. /115/ As for Huachacalla, upon
 631 which the "canton" of Chipaya is administratively dependent, my
 observations and the remarks of the natives make me estimate the
 distance to it as 40 kilometers. From Chipaya one reaches
 1484 Andamarca, near the Poopó, after three days on foot, and Orinoco,
 on the very edge of the vast marsh, in two days and a half.

133 Taking the data on the map of the Créqui Montfort Mission
 361 as a basis, I estimate the altitude of the village of Chipaya at
 roughly 3,700 meters above sea level.

161 Statistics. I was able to gather the names of about 320
 Cipaya living today. This figure is certainly somewhat less than
 the real one, because I was not able to record in my list a certain
 number of people who were absent or living in their "water houses."
 Zenon Bacarezza (1), in an official report presented to the Bolivian

[13]

1. Bacarreza (Zenón), "Fragmento del
 informe presentado al Supremo Gobierno
 por el señor. . . , comisionado del
 Ministerio de Colonización y Agricultura
 para el estudio físico y estadístico de la
 Provincia de Carangas del Departamento
 de Oruro /Part. of the report presented to
 the Supreme Government by Señor. . . ,
 commissioned by the Ministry of Coloni-
 zation and Agriculture for a statistical

[16th Century]

/30 cont./

101 between ou and o /French sounds/; or else urito (ourito), an affectionate diminutive, or chana wawa, "younger children." But at the same time they give them the contemptuous name of hoslé or huslé, "bastard," without father or master, " or on the other hand the very respectful one of haké waka, "sacred men."

The fishermen of Lake Titicaca are called by the other natives uru, uro, kotá-haké ("men of the Lake"), uma-hake ("water men"), and chaila-ura ("fishermen") in Aymara; laguneros /"lake men"/ in Spanish; uru, uru-xana ("Uru men"), cocha kuna ("men of the Lake"), kocha-la ("those who go on the lake"), in Quechua.

Documents of the Spanish Chroniclers

101 Morua (Fr. Martin de)

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...but since the peoples of Peru are many, very different in appearance /forma/ and language, according to the bigness of the region and province, they did not all live in the same manner nor did they have the same customs, but in some parts some are very slow and dull, as in Collao and other areas;

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because some lived close to the great lake of Titicaca and subsisted on the totora and fish that were found in the lake, and these were called Uros, and their descendants exist today, and of the others, Collas and Puquinas, some of them or

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generally most raise livestock, and some live near the said lake, intermixed with the said Uros; and these eat raw fish, which they catch with rafts made of totoras; and they wore clothes made of common reed-grass, which they reaped and cut on the lake shore and wove like mats, and with it they made a sort of jacket which they were accustomed to wear;

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and they do not sow anything, nor do they trouble to make houses but they merely subsist on plants, although there also exists among them a seed similar to mito which grows on

[16th Century]

/30 cont. /

[175] its own, without cultivation, and which they call quinua
[222] /quinua / or canagua; all of these Indians are fond of and eat the
[262] leaf of same.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Historia del origen y genealogía real de los Reyes Incas del Peru /History of the Origin and Royal Genealogy of the Inca Kings of Peru/, 1590, Constantino Bayle edition, Madrid, 1946, p. 214.)

[648] /31/... The Uros were Indians that the Inca sent for when
[702] the army was short, and they were compelled to follow the
[726] flags, not knowing even how to hold a bow; they went into battle almost without weapons and they and some of the Puquinas were killed like flies; because they had no military training, they let themselves be killed like animals. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Ibidem, p. 184.)

Garcilaso de la Vega

[181] ...and thus the Puquina, Colla, Uru, and Yunca Indians, and other nations that are crude and dull, and owing to their crudeness, even speak their own languages poorly.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Primera parte de los Comentarios Reales /First part of the Royal Commentaries/..., VII, Chap. 4.)

Oliva (Rev. Father Anello)

[181] ... (Sinchi Roca) ordered that... useless people, as the
[648] Uros were, who are ignorant and useless, should each one of
[651] them gather one reed tube full of lice each month, so that no one should be idle.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Historia del Reino y Provincias del Perú, de sus Incas Reyes /History of the Kingdom and Provinces of Peru, of its Inca Kings/..., 1598. 1895 edition, Lima.)

Ramirez (Baltasar)

● [131] The Uro Indians are a people who live on lakes, such as the lake of Chuquito and that of Paria, and in other parts.

[16th Century]

/33 cont. /

175 Neighboring Pueblos, and he removed and resettled them:
648 The damage they caused in the places where they were /re-
728 settled/ was such, since they stole all they could, that the
579 inhabitants, unable to bear with it, asked Casiracapa to rid
them of those people, because they robbed them, ate their
livestock, and were not useful in any way whatsoever; the
Captain advised the Inca of this and he was ordered to return
them to the Lake from which he had removed them, and to
threaten them with the death penalty if they were to leave it;
[101] these people of whom I speak are called Uros, the lake where
[131] they were found is that of Paria where they are now plying their
old trade, which is to steal and to eat; some have set up small
[161] villages, and they go out to steal, and it is astonishing what
is said of these Indians, that they steal from the herders who
live there a haul of pigs and eat it in one night, which if so
many people did not attest to it would not be believable; I
have ascertained that three Indians stole 12 sheep from the
area and ate them in two days without leaving anything usable:
they are infidels in addition, Your Excellency would perform
a great service to Our Lord by removing them from there so
[356] that they and their descendants might become Christians, and
giving them lodgings of some sort because their foul dwellings
defy description. /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Document contributed by Dr. Raul Porras Barrenechea.)

175 Visita de los Indios de la Provincia de Chuquito que estan en
cabeza de S. M. Lima, 1568. /Visit of the Indians of the
Province of Chuquito Who Are on the Register of H. M. Lima,
1568/.

[114] This document from the General Archives of the Indies in
Seville (A.G.I.), Justicia section, File No. 479, was analyzed
by Marie Helmer in these Travaux, III, pp. 115-150, 1951.

4:Vellard--9 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24

[16th Century] Aymara SF 5

A /35 cont. /

175 Machuca (Juan Lozano)

162 ...In the bay of Atacama, where the port (Cobija) is, there are 400 Uro Indian fishermen.... Likewise in the city district and environs of Tarapaca, which extends from the port of Pisagua and Hique-Hique, where there are Uro Indian fishermen, to the port of Loa, there are many mines.... The repartimiento of the heirs of Lucas Martin Begaso is under the jurisdiction of the city of Arequipa and there must be some 2,000 Aymara Indians and more than 1,000 Uro Indian fishermen in the said territory.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Relaciones geográficas de Indias /Geographic Reports on the Indies/, II, Appendices, pp. XXV, XXVI, and XXVII.)

u
175 Aside from the 4,000 Aymara Indians of Lipez, there
162 were in this repartimiento another 1,000 Uro Indians, a poor
433 people who neither sow nor reap and who subsist on the hunting
735 of guanacos and vicuñas and on fish and roots found in the
marshes, which they call coroma; and herewith the 4,000
Aymara Indians claim poverty, because while rich in native
175 livestock and reaping and sowing and conducting trade and
433 barter in this town of Potosi, Tarapaca, and Atacama, and
735 founding many metals, which they extract from the mines,
A they excuse themselves from paying tribute to H. M. under
[48] pretext of being poor, like the 1,000 Uro Indians who truly
[51] are.... /Translated from the Spanish. /

(Ibidem, Appendix 3.)

u Jujuy Archives

175 Dr. Ernesto Sourrouille, in the historic studies he carried
127 out in the Jujuy archives and with private documents (testa-
[31] ments, grants, etc.) told me, that at the western source of the
Oros mayo River, in the Department of Santa Catalina, south
of the Cerro Esmoraca, there lived a tribe of Uro Indians like
those who share a boundary with the Atacamas.... /Translated
from the Spanish. /

[17th Century]

175 /36 cont./ There is another pueblo four leagues
[361] east-west of Challacollo called Toledo, whose Indians are
[103] resplendent, skillful, courteous..., these Indians came from
[648] other Provinces and the Inca settled them there, to become
masters of those Uros, but he could not (as neither could the
religious) use soap to whiten an Ethiopian: they are somewhat
less crude, but they are still without breeding....

[797] ...How many times did our religious, at the peril of their
lives (owing not to the depth of the water but to the thickness
of the totora) go to save Indians of over 30 and 40 years of age
who were unbaptized and who had never come to a town....

[797] Their idolatries are to worship the sun and this lake.... They
[162] are inclined to steal...they are wolves because they will eat
[142] a raw sheep and they wear the nail of the right thumb so long
[308] and so sharp /37/ that they can tear it up without need of a
[181] knife....For years I heard it said in that Province, like a
refrain: "From the Uro Indian, no man is safe...."/Translated
from the Spanish./

(Ibid., I, 650-651.)

[101] In the second volume La Calancha mentions the Uros of
[131] Titicaca under the name of Ochozumaz. These Indians were
centered in the totora beds of the Desaguadero /"outlet"/
and on the small island of Simillake.

[423] ...They are lords of this totora bed, they have it all
[489] defiled, and they have made passageways, and hidden paths
[226] throughout, and they set deadly ambushes for those who, una-
ware of the hidden spot, dare to enter the totora bed, as we
shall see later. These Ochozuma Indians, in the safety of this
175 cover, have dared in former years to commit great misdeeds,
721 robbing, laying waste neighboring pueblos and ranches, steal-
ing livestock, clothing, and whatever else they could lay their
hands on. These last few months their audacity has been great,
they made forays openly and in the light of day, into the
pueblo of Guaqui, seat of the corregidor of the Pacages, so
that the region was terrified, and the royal road of these realms
was unsafe..../Translated from the Spanish./

[16th-17th Centuries]

/37 cont./

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Nearly all of this first book of Chapter XVII is devoted to the great rebellion of these Indians, led by mestizos or Spanish bandits, like their last chief, a certain... "Don Pedro Laine, a fierce and bold man, the son of the Auditor /Contador/ Ansa, who is regarded by them as a great sorcerer.../cited in Spanish/."

(Crónica moralizada de la Orden de San Agustín en el Perú /Moral Chronicle of the Order of Saint Augustine in Peru/. Lima, 1653. Vol. II, Chap. XVII, First Book.)

195 Diligencias e informaciones hechas para sacar de la isla del Choro y del Paraje de Villivilli en el Lago Poopo a los indios sus habitantes, considerados como infieles y pernicioso /Measures and inquiries carried out to remove from the island of Choro and the region of Villivilli in Lake Poopo their Indian inhabitants, regarded as being infidels and destructive./

• [131] Report made by General Don Francisco García Picado, Corregidor and Lord Chief Justice of Oruro, at the request of the Duke de la Palata, Viceroy of Peru, on-the existence of savage Indians on Paria Lake.

[197] Among the witnesses whose testimony was gathered by the commissioners /Commissaires/ we find... "the Teaching

[635] Father Fray Nicolas de Loayza, a religious of the Order of Our Father Saint Augustine...of Chacacollo, the principal

[162] pueblo of the district of the corregidor of the province /38/ of Paria, and of its native Indians called Urus, and of some outsiders who live in said pueblo and the neighboring areas under its authority... a person who has known them for 35

[197] years and has more than sufficient experience...teaching them the Christian doctrine in three languages: the general one, Aymara, and their own mother tongue, which they call Ura.../cited in Spanish/."

(Document partly published in the Revista del Instituto de Sociología Boliviana in Sucre, by Gunnar Mendoza L. under

4:Vellard--13 D, E-4, 5 (no date) 1959-1960 SF24 Uru SF24
[16th-17th Centuries] Aymara SFS

u /38 cont. /

175 the title: "Posición geográfica de los indios Uru en el Lago
Poopó /Geographic Location of the Uru Indians on Lake Poopo/, "
III, No. 3, 50-55, 1943-44. This document was made known
to us by Dr. Guillermo Francovich, at the time Rector of the
University of Sucre.)

A Ludovico Bertonio

175 The (words) listed here are peculiar to the Aymara of this
197 Lupaca Province....But not on this account should one judge
that this vocabulary will be of use only to the priests and other
persons who reside in the Province of Chucuyto, and among
the Lupaca Indians, because without any doubt wherever the
Aymara language is spoken, and in the whole nation of Ay-
mara Indians...because the Aymara nation, although spread
out in many and various Provinces, is very similar in language,
and manner of speech generally, and thus he who knows well
this Lupaca language will without difficulty understand the
Indians of other Provinces...except for a few special words,
very few, as we have said.

A
[36] ...It is certain that in this Aymara nation, if we count
the small ones and the large ones, there are more than 1,000
A
[197] pueblos or slightly less. Let us see now how many are the
preachers who, knowing this language well, with the necessary
clarity and proficiency, teach the Gospel. I would not be far
wrong if I stated that they are barely 20.../Translated from
the Spanish. /

(Vocabulario de la Lengua aymara.../Vocabulary of the
Aymara Language/, printed in the house of the Compañía de
Jesus de Juli, a pueblo in the Province of Chucuito. By
Francisco del Canto, 1612; preface A1 and A2.)

u
185 Lizarraga

137 ...This province (Omasuyo) is heavily populated, and
51 most are Puquinas; they are well favored /son recios/ with

[16th-17th centuries]

/38 cont./

175 native livestock, and in addition they share in more maize
161 and wheat than those of other parts, because of /39/ having
131 on their left the province of Larecaja, abundant in both....
511 /Translated from the Spanish./

(Descripción colonial /Colonial Account/. Biblioteca
Argentina, XIII-XIV, Buenos Aires, 1916, I, 227.)

Constituciones sinodales del Obispado del Cuzco, expedidas
el 29 de Setiembre de 1591, por el Ilmo Sr. D. Fr.
Gregorio de Montalvo /Synodical Rules of the Diocese of
Cuzco, issued on 29 September 1591 by the Illustrious
Don Fr. Gregorio de Montalvo/.

175 ...Because in many pueblos of this our Diocese as a rule
1747 all Indian women, or most of them and some of the Indian
1747 men, do not understand the Quechua language, but rather
1747 Aymara or Puquina, and for this reason do not know the
mysteries of our Faith, and do not confess their whole life,
not even at the hour of death, in order to remedy this we order
that all parish priests among the Indians, in accordance with
the mandate of the third Council, should hear confessions in
the language peculiar to their parish, /whether/ Quechua,
Aymara, or Puquina, and because this is so different in each
pueblo where said language is spoken, within a year of their
being appointed to said parishes, they should prepare with the
help of Indians who know Spanish /ladinos/ a short Confession
and Catechism wherewith to confess and instruct these persons,
which they must do under penalty of 20 pesos the first time
and twice as much the second, being warned that they will
even be deprived of their parishes, if they are negligent in
this respect.... /Translated from the Spanish./

Statement of the Bishop of Cuzco, D. Antonio de la Raya,
charging the Jesuits on 12 March 1549 to give examina-
tions to clergymen applying for Indian parishes:

101 of their native language remains, it is impossible to know whether they
197 were linguistically related to the *Uru* of Lake Titicaca. It is highly possible that they were different, for "*Uru*" has been used even more inclusively than "*Chango*" and may have been applied to peoples of different languages.

173 *Uru* history is little known. The most ancient Highland *Uru* tradition, that in prehistoric times their bodies were used as binding material in building the great *Colla* structures, probably signifies that human beings were sacrificed when foundations were laid. They claim to be the oldest race in the world, antedating the sun. It is said that they are the people involved in the famous tribute of lice to the *Inca*.

175 In earliest historic times, the *Uru* appear to have lived on the numerous islands of Lake Titicaca and in the reed (*totora*) swamps of the Rfo Desaguadero. Alcedo, writing in the latter half of the 18th century, said that they were removed against their will from the islands of the lake to the mainland, where they dwelt in gloomy caves and holes in the ground covered with reeds. At the end of the 19th century, *Uru* was still spoken in scattered places: Aluallamaya, Ancoaqui, Iruitu, and Nazacara in the Rfo Desaguadero region of Bolivia; and in Simiñaque and Sojapata in Perú (Polo, 1901). In 1873, there were *Uru* haciendas at Checaraque, Taguau, Tacacatani, Chicani-uma, Machacamarca, Urcuni-uma, Huallaqueri, Calayampani, and Tocavi. There were 937 persons (448 males, 498 females), of whom 809 were Indians in the Peruvian section, but as this number included *Aymara*, it is doubtful if there were more than 200 *Uru* in 1873. In 1938, there were 30 taxable persons in the Ancoaqui area, which agrees well with Métraux's estimate (1936 a) that the entire Rfo Desaguadero region had less than 100 *Uru* in 1931.

648 Recently, the Ancoaqui *Uru* have been despoiled of their lands by 131 the *Aymara* comunarios of Jesús de Machaca and retain only the few thousand square meters on which their village stands.

101 The Coast *Uru* are little known. Locana Machuca (Latham, 131 1910) noted 400 fishermen in the cove of Atacama (Cobija), others 162 from the Rfo Loa north to Pisagua on the Tarapacá coast, and "more than a thousand on the coast of Arequipa."

157 Unlike the friendly *Uru* of the Coast, the Highland *Uru* have long had a reputation for truculence and meanness. A 17th-century rhymic states that, "De indio Uro ningún hombre está seguro (No one is safe with an *Uru* Indian)." Acosta said that they were so brutish they did not even consider themselves human. Garcilaso called them "rude and stupid," and even the sympathetic Bertonió wrote of them as "a tribe of Indians looked down upon by everyone and of very low intelligence." Métraux found even the *Chipaya* less morbidly distrustful, suspicious, fearful, brutal, and stupidly avaricious than the

BOLIVIA

VISIT TO THE CHIPAYAS

Professors Jorge Ruiz and Augusto Roca have recently been living among the Chipayas of the village of Santa Ana, a little-known group of the Sabaya Canton of the Province of Carangas in the Department of Oruro, Bolivia. We quote them as follows:

"The Chipayas were corraled by the Aymara-Kolla into the lonely salt pits in the Southwestern part of the Plateau region. In spite of this fact they have retained a certain vigor and are far from being extinguished. Those who remain may be calculated at about a thousand individuals, who occupy an extension of territory very limited in proportion to the number of inhabitants. Like their brothers, the Uru, it appears that originally their way of life was essentially lake-dwelling, but when they were thrown into a region of deserts and salt marshes, which dried up with the passage of the geological epochs, they were converted into a pastoral and agricultural people who adjusted their way of life to an amazing degree to the adverse conditions of the territory in which they were obliged to live.

The few travelers who have been fortunate enough to arrive at the village of Santa Ana de Chipaya would agree that the impression it causes is that of a living *chullperia*.¹ The village is divided into two sections called *sayas* with circular houses scattered about in disorderly fashion, all doors facing the east. The only observable foreign element is a small church with a tower separate from the principal nave, which presents the same architectonic form as the tower of the church of Sabaya.

The first impression one receives of the inhabitants is that of the purity of their dress, which does not present any influence foreign to themselves; this is especially true among the women who for the most part wear their characteristic hair style composed of many small braids, but also of the men with the classic garment of the *ira*, a sleeveless shirt which reaches to the waist woven of wool in a striped design. This impression supposes little mixture with their Aymara neighbors, although

¹ *Chullpa*: Pre-Inca funeral monument of Peru and Bolivia.

IT MIGHT STILL BE A.D. 1500 in a remote section of Oruro Department of Bolivia today. Here is the retreat of the Chipaya Indians, the living people who can give us an idea of rural life in a distant corner of the great Inca Empire. The few hundred individuals of Santa Ana de Chipaya are the remainders of a once numerous people whose territory extended to the northern shores of Lake Titicaca. Their language, Uru-Chipaya, was called "one of the three main languages of the kingdom" by the sixteenth-century chroniclers of Peru, which included what is now Bolivia. Over the centuries the more powerful Quechuas and Aymaras have seized their lands, forcing them back into a region where life is particularly difficult. But they have made remarkable use of their harsh, ungenerous environment. In their isolation, they have retained their pre-Columbian customs more completely than any other Andean group.

And they are isolated. The modern world did not even know of their existence until it was reported by the famous Peruvianist Max Uhle toward the end of the nine-

[R19-C]

teenth century. To reach them today, you travel by train 131 •
 from La Paz to the city of Oruro, then by car or bus to
 Curaguara de Carangas. From there you must walk over
 a desert worthy of Siberia to the left bank of the Lauca 133
 River, where a canoe must be found for the crossing,
 before you go on to the village.

Little is known of Chipaya history. It has been con- 174
 jectured that they may be the descendants of one of the
 first groups to reach the American continent. They call 173
 themselves the descendants of the *chullpas*, the ancient
 inhabitants of the area who, according to legend, hid
 themselves in reed baskets when the sun appeared for the
 first time.

The *chullpas* are still in the neighborhood, silent mum- 172
 mies resting in the square sod houses they built long
 ago. The word *chullpa* is also used for the burial houses.
 The ghost villages of *chullpas*, their doorways invariably
 facing east, can be seen by travelers today. Modern In-
 dians avoid them with superstitious dread. It is claimed 148
 that the Chipayas are feared by the stronger Aymaras be- 182

[Text continues on p. 20-B]

[p. 19-D]

American Anthropologist

NEW SERIES

VOL. 43

OCTOBER-DECEMBER, 1941

No. 4, PART 1

THE URU OF THE RIO DESAGUADERO By WESTON LA BARRE

IN THE giant reed, or *totorá* swamps on the eastern or Bolivian bank of the middle Desaguadero, between Lakes Titicaca and Poopo, and shortly downstream from where this river forms the common Peruvian-Bolivian frontier, lives the remnant of a tribe which is in many ways an ethnographic puzzle. They are possibly Arawakan in linguistic affiliation, and their nearest language-congeners lie beyond the farther side of the great inter-Andean (Bolivian) *altiplano* from them, and beyond the eastern, continental Andes or Cordillera Real—viz., scattered in the immense steaming jungle-swamps of the Amazon basin, in the Greater and Lesser Antilles of the Caribbean, and indeed at one time in a sizeable section in the south of the state of Florida. They form a distinct linguistic enclave in the midst of enormous territories of Quechua- and Aymará-speaking peoples. How the ancestors of this vanishing tribelet ever came to the extreme western border of the lofty, raw, cold, barren, and wind-swept *altiplano* from their tropical jungles is an absorbing anthropological riddle.¹

Location. According to Polo, the Uru language at the end of the Nineteenth Century was still spoken in the following scattered places: *Ahualla maya*, some 20 km. from Ancoacui and 40 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Ancoacui*, on the left² bank of the Desaguadero, 23 km. from Lake Titicaca; *Iruitu*, some 12 km. from the mouth of the Desaguadero (s. lat. 16°31'40'');

¹ The present sketch is believed to be the unique ethnographic account of the Uru in English. Former notices of this interesting and obscure group have been confined to one or two lines which barely identify them. The colonial Spanish literature, unfortunately, is almost wholly silent on the subject of the Uru, but all available references to them have been carefully checked and utilized in the present summary. In Spanish we have Posnansky's brief and somewhat disappointing notes. In French there is the linguistic work of Métraux, who visited the Uru for a week in 1931 with the purpose of compiling a comparative Uru-Chipaya dictionary. Métraux' incidental ethnographic notes on the Uru are excellent, and undoubtedly our best source on the tribe. As the Uru are today almost wholly extinct, though important to our general knowledge of South America ethnography, it is to be deplored that they have been so little known to English-speaking students.

² Métraux, *Contribution au folk-lore andin* (Journal de la Société des Américanistes de Paris 26, p. 75) is in minor error in locating this *comunidad* on the right bank of the Desaguadero.

[de Indias, Peru, 1: 82, Madrid, 1881] written in 1582, it is mentioned as "one of the three general languages of the kingdom." This would indicate that at that period it had a wider extension than we can now trace. 114
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Brinton identified the "Puquina" of Ore with the Uru of Lake Titicaca, and has been followed by many authorities since. Raoul de la Grasserie agreed in the identification, giving the synonymy "Puquinas, known also by the name of Urus, Uros, Hunos and Ochomazos, etc." Ehrenreich also lists the "Uro or Puquina" linguistic stock, but notes a discrepancy with de la Grasserie:

In the midst of the Kolya population there still dwell on Lake Titicaca remains of the much disintegrated Uru or Puquina, an independent group, whose language has recently been investigated by Uhle. The language treated under this name by Raoul de la Grasserie seems to belong to a different people. [101]

Uhle informed Chamberlain in 1896 that the Uros of Iruitu [of the upper Desaguadero] were linguistically identical with those of the interior of Carangas, and concluded that once they probably occupied the region from Lake Titicaca almost to the Argentine frontier; at Iruitu ten men, fourteen women, and nine children still spoke Uru, with little difference from the Carangas dialect. But he too noted that "the Puquina-Uro of Raoul de la Grasserie is totally different from my Uro."⁸ [131]
[74]
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More recently Métraux has done linguistic work with both the Chipaya of Lake Poopo (Carangas) and the Uru of Ancoaqui (Rio Desaguadero). The virtual identity of the two dialects he has well demonstrated, the Uru being purer and less corrupt, perhaps, than the Chipaya, of the group he calls "Uro-Chipaya." Careful comparison of vocabularies in Métraux with my own and Polo's make it clear that: 197

1. The Uru of Lake Titicaca and Rio Desaguadero and the Chipaya of Carangas form one linguistic stock.

⁸ Daniel G. Brinton, *The American Race* (New York 1891), pp. 223-224. Raoul de la Grasserie, *Langues Américaines: Langue Puquina, Textes Puquina Contenus dans le Rituel seu Manuale Peruanum de Geronimo de Ore* (publié à Naples en 1607 avec texte espagnol en regard, traduction analytique interlineaire, vocabulaire et essai de grammaire, Leipzig, 1894), p. 67. (De la Grasserie used a copy in the Bibliothèque Nationale; Brinton, according to Chamberlain, used a British Museum copy of Ore.) Paul Ehrenreich, *Die Ethnographie Sudamerikas im Beginn des XX Jahrhunderts unter besonderer Berücksichtigung der Naturvölker* (Archiv für Anthropologie N. F. 3: 39-75, 1905), p. 65. Uhle, personal letter, dated Lima, May 17, 1896; cited in Alexander F. Chamberlain, *The Uru: A New South American Linguistic Stock* (*American Anthropologist* 12: 417-424, 1910), p. 418, from which this résumé is taken. See also M. Uhle, *Reisen in Bolivia und Peru* (Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin, Verhandlung 23, 1896), pp. 357-360; *idem*, *Ueber die Sprache der Uros in Bolivia* (*Globus* 69, 1896), p. 19. 113
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